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(Kozhikode) during the reign of Tippu Sultan; but it is more likely they were local tribals or slaves (*paṇiya*) who had escaped across the border from Coorg.[28] These labourers, whose services may be bought along with the land (Thurston, 1909, vol. VI, 58), and whose position there is inherited patrilineally, work without wages in return for regular meals, housing and clothes. Some of the more progressive farmers give them a little pocket-money, too, and normally pay their marriage expenses. In 1976 the Government made a serious effort to release all such people from bondage.

TRADITIONAL INTERCHANGE: A SUMMARY

Each of the four main groups—Badagas, Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas—was linked with each of the others through patrilineally descending partnerships. The men involved in these supplied each other with goods and services supplementing their own economic production and also symbolizing their social interrelationship through ritualized interaction.

Only the Badagas produced a real surplus of grain; Kotas and Kurumbas grew hardly enough crops for their own needs and Todas never grew anything. Thus the Badagas alone were in a position to pass out grain to Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas at harvest-time. They were also to some extent the suppliers of cloth, sugar and salt for these three tribes. While Badagas thus played a major part in the economy of the Nilgiri tribes their role in the rituals of these groups was minimal, probably because the form of the rituals antedated the arrival of the Badagas.

Todas specialized in dairy produce: milk and clarified butter. These they provided on occasion for Badagas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Todas were also able to supply Kotas and Badagas with various cane products: beds, flutes and certain baskets.

The Kotas possessed some buffaloes and cultivated grain, too. But they also made various artifacts for the Badagas who gave them cattle carcasses and grain and for the Todas who gave them clarified butter. The Kotas were the specialists in leather-work, carpentry, pottery, metal-working, thatching and ceremonial music. Their participation in Toda and Badaga funerals was essential.

By comparison with the Kotas, the Toda and Kurumba tribesmen maintained relatively simple relationships with the

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177 report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

000 12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

177 13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

177 614 14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

565 622 15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

000 16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with the *palol*!

439 17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into

778 clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *palol's* cloth was woven by

000 the Toreas of Jakkanc:ri; near Kotagiri; see Mackenzie, 1893, 905.

19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53-54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

186 20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

000 21. Harkness, 1832, 84-85; Metz, 1864, 116-117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232-233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

177 621 23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86-87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness, 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15-37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from

795 Todas, but none from Kotas; Mackenzie, 1893, 222.

25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

595 26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a

583 hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage

586 between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

27. Ranga, 1934, 55-59; Noble, 1968, 174-175. This relationship was ended by

648 Government action in 1976.

28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20-22; *panya* is also a section of the Yerava

657 tribe in Coorg.

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millet), mustard seed, garlic and wheat; and they also ate honey. At this early date the Badagas were not self-sufficient, for they gave the Todas 'rice' in exchange for buffalo ghee. He added that Badagas also carried this clarified butter to a place called Manaracathe to sell (Finicio, 1603, 723). This is evidently the Manna:ru Ghat, or escarpment track, which runs from Malabar to the Sundepatti Pass, and which then leads up the south side of the plateau to Me:lkunde.[3] Whether coinage was obtainable by such transactions we are not told. The same description might well have been penned by another visitor 200 years later.

Nothing was however written about the following two centuries although that was the period when the community expanded to nearly 350 villages and consolidated itself. The next mention of Badagas is in Buchanan's survey of 1800 (1807, vol. II, 246–247), when he tells briefly of their having ploughs, practising swidden cultivation and gathering jungle produce, including honey and bees-wax.[4]

From about 1809 to 1812 several Britons explored the hills.[5] Apparently they had no impact on the local economy. The 1812 expedition was to survey the area quickly and report back to the Collector of Coimbatore, under whose charge the tract had nominally rested since the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1799. Keys' short report (1812) contains some valuable material to add to what little we glean from Finicio, Buchanan and the oldest traditions of the Badagas themselves.

In 1819 the first settler, John Sullivan, came to the plateau and set in motion a train of events which quickly and significantly transformed the indigenous economy into a monetized one. Over the succeeding years the European population slowly increased; but it was only after 1838, when coffee was introduced, that Europeans had any commercial reason for taking up residence in the area. Long after that date the great bulk of Europeans remained in the three towns of the plateau, so that their influence on the rural economy may well have been slight. Not until the 1850s is there documentary evidence of any modification of the Badaga farming economy that can be attributed directly to the British presence. What O'Malley (1941, 12) has observed for Moghul India in general is also an accurate summary of the Nilgiri situation throughout the last century:

The only contact with the villages was by means of local officials

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175 •667 having their head-quarters in the towns, who were responsible for the patrolling of the main routes, the suppression of organized crime, and the realization of the land revenue. So long as it was paid, and so long as there was no disturbance of the peace endangering the general security or outbreaks of crime preventing the safe passage of travellers and merchandise, the villages were left to manage their own affairs, with headmen and councils of elders to try their petty cases and village watchmen to prevent petty crime.

127 A detailed account of the economy up to the year 1830 (when a large part of the plateau was transferred from Coimbatore to the Malabar administration) can be reconstructed from several reports, mainly British.[6] These provide us with a list of Badaga produce which can be amended slightly by modern informants.

175 241 The main items[7] cultivated by Badagas in the early nineteenth century were wheat, barley, panic-seed, the Italian, finger and slender millets, poppy, prince's feather, mustard seed, black gram, field peas, chick pea or Bengal gram, pepper, rose-mallow seeds; garlic, onion, fenugreek, country bean, pumpkin and gourd.

175 (231) The main animal products in this period were cow and buffalo milk, clarified butter (made more by Todas than by Badagas), hides (prepared by Kotas from Badaga animals), bullocks used in ploughing and threshing, and a few large poultry. No sheep were kept, though Finicio and Birch had noticed goats in the hills (Finicio, 1603, 723; Keys, 1812, li; Birch, 1836, 103).

Materials gathered from the jungle included kitchen fuel, honey, bees-wax, hay, wild flax, gentian, sandalwood, rattan cane and black dammer or resin.

175 439 The items usually imported and exported by Badagas are also known from these same sources. The imports were coarse cloth, salt, tobacco, iron bars for the Kota blacksmith (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 8), coarse sugar made from a palm sap, trinkets and coinage.

Exports included wheat, barley, some superior millets, bales of millet and barley hay and wild flax (all used for fodder), poppy capsules and opium, honey, bees-wax, garlic, onion, mustard seed, pepper, fenugreek, gentian, rose-mallow seed, clarified butter, sandalwood, hides, cane—and coinage paid in land taxes to an official at Dannaika Ko:ţe.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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and bees-wax. Other exports of the later nineteenth century were coffee, tea, potato, barley, resin, silk and hides.

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE OVER THE PAST CENTURY

Until 1863 the Badagas not only cultivated fields close to the villages but also practised shifting agriculture in the wooded areas. At that time the government abolished, at least formally, the system of swidden cultivation and thereby posed a serious threat to those Badaga farmers who had depended on it (for full details, see Grigg, 1880, 314–327). According to government experts swidden farming was wasteful of timber resources and led to soil erosion. More significantly, though, there was also an eagerness among British settlers to cover vast tracts of the Nilgiris with tea and coffee plantations. In 1863 the British abolished the revenue system current in the Kundena:du area,[7] which had involved issuing a licence for each hoe and each plough without otherwise taxing or delimiting the land a man could cultivate or recording what acreage he was entitled to use. Until these restrictions came into effect many Badaga farmers made periodic use of lands five to ten times as extensive as their revenue assessments justified.[8] By about 1880 these restrictions, legislated during 1862–1864, had become realities in all parts of the Nilgiris.

The rapidly increasing Badaga population was now faced with a depleted acreage of usable farmland, a situation that worsened with erosion and land sales. For the first time in history their fields, once surveyed and registered in accordance with the Land Settlement rules, came to have a monetary value—especially as under the Waste Land Rules a man's land could be auctioned and thus irretrievably lost if he became too much in arrears with the payment of land revenue. A farmer therefore tried to hold on to as much registered land as he could.[9]

The British land legislation did not cause an immediate shortage of land among the Badagas. On the contrary, Grigg notes (1880, 480) that in the 1870s land was so 'cheap' that the Badagas who did own some or bought more tried to cultivate areas that were too large for their resources, with the result that their labour and capital were spread too thinly across the land to produce adequate returns. The slim yield of soil not properly fertilized and skimpy cultivation of too large an area impelled the poorer farmers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to sell land to British

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681 The preceding was never a fixed scale of punishments but rather a guide to how an offender would be treated in those times, 'all else being equal'. In each case the punishment could be mitigated according to the circumstances of the crime and the identity of the criminal. A poor man would be fined less than one of the gentry; and any man might plead poverty or haggle with the council to have his fine reduced. This is equally true today.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

178 Since the start of the last century Badagas were ruled indirectly by
● 657 the British but contact with them had very little effect in the early years. The Badagas avoided the British legal system and its officers, and their own customary system continued to operate effectively until the end of the century when they subtly adapted their legal thinking to avail themselves of the Imperial system as well.

622 Village government under the British régime perpetuated the
632 existing hereditary headmen, some of whom received the title of
657 *manegar*. The hierarchy of headmen did not enter into the British scheme for local government however; *manegars* were typically *u:r*
631 *gaudas*, headmen at the commune level. In the earliest days the British deemed it enough for a *manegar* to be a member of the gentry respected by the Badagas; but by the end of the nineteenth century the role of headman had been split: a *manegar* was appointed in the main communes by the District Collector,[11] while the Badagas still selected their own headmen at both the village and the commune levels.[12] The appointed *manegar* was preferably a literate man, and no longer merely someone with prestige
624 (Grigg, 1880, 366). In addition the British appointed an accountant, the *karnam*, to keep village records. Both of these roles,[13] held by Badagas responsible to an outside authority, were new to Nilgiri society and were not honoured in the spirit expected by the British
622 administration. Grigg, the Collector in 1880, noted with perhaps some exaggeration that

> The vaguest notion of their duties as village magistrate or police officer prevails among the headmen. So far from their understanding that it is their duty to repress such crime, they seem to regard it almost as a sacred duty not only to countenance and

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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shield the wrong-doers, but even to aid in the perpetration (Grigg, 1880, 411; Francis, 1908, 295).

The power and influence of the *munegar* was vastly greater in the last century than it now is: '... when he visited any village within his jurisdiction, the monegar had the privilege of having the best women or maids of the place to share his cot according to his choice'.[14] Girls were only one kind of bribe that might secretly be used to secure his sympathies: clothes and feasting were much commoner. The autocracy of these local officials is well illustrated by 'stories ... of a Monegar of one village who ordered an individual who had disobeyed his orders to be covered with a slab of stone' (Natesa Sastri, 1892, 831-832).

Just as alien as the British notion of a headman's role was the idea of electing a council; and yet a supposedly elected *panchayat*[15] became the official organ of local government shortly after the First World War. (Its duties today are to provide certain facilities, notably the up-keep of roads and paths, water supply, community radio, maintenance of land records and birth and death registers, and the supply of information about governmental activity.) Despite the appearance of village *panchayats* and of a state police force in some villages, the organization of celebrations and the settlement of disputes have remained very much in the hands of the traditional headman, his festival committee and his council. Criminal cases should be reported to the police and are usually handled in a lawcourt, but civil and petty criminal cases can either be settled by the village council or by an official *panchayat* court.[16]

This multiplicity of procedures exposes the Badagas to three different legal systems: their own indigenous one, still influential in establishing precedents; the present-day Badaga village council which settles disputes according to a majority opinion (an opinion voiced, however, by the headman and modified by the knowledge that the case may then be taken, together with the decision, before a court of law); and finally the increasingly popular hierarchy of government law courts.

THE PRESENT AMBILEGAL SITUATION

With such a confusion of courts, officials, regulations and legal options, how does a Badaga choose which medium to use? The prime consideration is apparently not the seriousness of the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Catholic priests became very active—mainly in converting Protestant Badagas—and thereby split the Christians into two culturally similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic stance not only towards the other Christian Church but also towards all Hindus.[8] By 1924 there were about a thousand Protestants and a hundred Roman Catholics (Société des missions-étrangères, 1924, vol. III, 466).

Since around 1935 an American couple, Pastor and Mrs. E.D. Willmott, succeeded in converting a few dozen Badagas—again mainly from the Protestants—to the Seventh Day Adventist Church; today some two hundred Badagas are members. Otherwise there has been little change in the balance between Catholics and Protestants, who were almost equal in number by 1947. After national Independence, although Badagas continued to become Adventists, the conversion of Hindus to the two major Christian sects virtually ceased, as did most conversion of Protestants to Roman Catholicism. Some recent conversions were engineered by a Catholic priest (a European) who was able to provide imported clothing, houses, CARE food packets and some land to new converts.

A recent count found 2093 Badaga Christians, of all denominations (Moses, 1964, 35). While there are still points of disagreement between members of the two main sects (pre-eminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Hindus and Christians in general, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing living conditions. There are now indications in casual conversation that Badagas are adapting their orientations to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity, one linking all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for instance, are willing to admit that the Christians set them a good example—an allusion to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and 'progressive' treatment of their womenfolk that are admired in some Christians and that make them a westernizing model for other Badagas (Ranga, 1934, 5-6). The Badaga community is now usually called a caste, and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as Badagas, a group for which the state government shows particular concern and beneficence by treating as a 'Backward Class'.[9] Thus the chances of material betterment through wider employment opportunities which a century ago prompted a few Badagas to change their

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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844 A piece of garlic is tied with
757 cloth to each of her big toes, to prevent her from catching cold. (fI
751 she gets a heavy cold, the illness is called *janni*, and the tempera-
ture of the body is below normal. Then a liquid medicine can be
administered). Some five to ten minutes after the oil is given, the
846 mother is offered coffee with palm jaggery. This is given to all
women after delivery.

844 4.12. The afterbirth comes a half-hour or so after the delivery,
either before or after the mother has taken a bath. If it is slow in
coming she will have the bath without waiting for it; although in
earlier days it was customary to wait for t. Nowadays government
midwives, if called in, pull the afterbirth *ex utero* if it does not im-
mediately follow the delivery; and some others do this too.

844 Badaga women seldom go to hospital or even call a doctor
758 during child-birth. If they do so one can be sure that things
743 are very serious and often complicated. One day a Badaga
woman was carried to the hospital . . . It was a case of retain-
ed placenta of three weeks duration, as the relatives told us.
The woman was semi-conscious and pale with the loss of
blood . . . (Ketti Medical Mission 1953:4).

657 With the increase in government programs for training midwives,
such tragedies are becoming very rare. Some Badagas apparently
knew of a medicine which they also provided Todas with to release
a delayed placenta (Rivers 1906: 323).

844 Next, the floor where the child was born is washed with a cow-
788 dung solution. A handful of hay is lit with a brand from the fire
and circled around several times over the damp spot. The burnt
751 hay is then thrown away and the firebrand hit on the floor at that
point. The same place is then scratched with an adze, for it is said
that if this is not done the child will get itches on the skin. (No
spells are spoken; and it is not important to get the cowdung dried
by the fire.)

844 The afterbirth is then carried by a woman to somewhere, gene-
rally within the hamlet boundary, where it can be buried. This can
be anywhere distant from the settlement. Men may come to help
783 dig the hole, but will not touch the polluting afterbirth. It is bund-
led up in the dirty cloths or sacks, all of which are buried with it.
A big stone and thorn bushes are put on top of the burial place,
simply to make sure that no jackals or dogs eat it, for Badagas do

175 (Grigg 1880: 228, 268-69). Whatever the details of their migration may be, it is
(167) known that no further Badagas arrived from Mysore after the first English report mentioning the Nilgiri peoples (Buchanan 1807: 246-47). They have been consolidated as a community for at least two centuries (Anonymous 1819: liv-lv; Macpherson 1820: lix; Ward 1821: lxx-lxxi). Furthermore the system of socio-
178 cultural interdependence which linked the Badagas with the other tribal groups there at the beginning of the 20th Century did not differ greatly from the situation as it was sketchily recorded in 1603 (Fenicio 1603: 723). In general therefore we
101 177 can say that the Badagas were Kanarese-speaking agriculturists who settled in the Nilgiris from perhaps six until two centuries ago, and who were there consolidated into a tribe-like community interacting with the other local tribes.

433 Records indicate that until about 1860 or 1870 the Badagas were slash-and-burn cultivators as well as settled farmers (cf. Grigg 1880: 315-17, 321; Francis 1908: 4; Thurston 1909: I, 78-79). Those who ate meat were also in the habit of hunting, until some 30 years ago. After 1860 the British administration
241 (657) wanted the peasants to remain on the same tracts of farmland; whereupon they gradually took to cultivating European vegetables, particularly the potato, which
241 they sold for cash in the town markets (Metz 1864: 153-54). Since 1957 a series
439 of crop failures caused by a potato disease has prompted the Badagas to turn more and more to the cultivation of tea and coffee, products which are also sold locally for cash. In the past the food needs of these villagers have been satisfied by the cultivation of millets; but since about 1920 it has been more common for them to purchase rice as a staple, using money brought in by the potato, tea or coffee sales (Ranga 1934: 68).

262 000 Dairy produce is an essential part of the Badaga diet. Nearly every

631 colonization of this rather inaccessible area. The recency of its settlement,
(166) when compared with other parts of the Nilgiris, is suggested by the fact that the name of the division lying directly to the east of it is Merkunad -- which means "Western District". It is also common when people are talking about the plateau divisions to use the set phrase, "all the four districts, including Kunda", as though it were somehow exceptional to consider Kunda a district at all.

The fifth division, Malnad, though inhabited by a very few Badagas (or Wynaad Gaudas), Kotas, and -- until 40 years ago -- Todas, is generally thought of by these three tribes as an alien land; and it was certainly not integrated into the indigenous political system in the way that the other four divisions were.

(657) This subdivision of the Nilgiris was taken over by the British for administrative purposes, and continued in use until the early years of the present century, when it was superceded by a redivision of the District into three taluks. The rural inhabitants have however continued to think primarily in terms of their indigenous divisions in matters which involve the Nilgiri-wide social system and its juridical processes.

632 Each of these areas is divided into a number of "villages", usually bet-
(631) ween ten and twenty of them. Each "village" in turn consists of a varying number
(621) of neighboring hamlets belonging normally to any one of the six phratries. One hamlet, not necessarily the largest nor even of the highest-ranked phratry, takes permanent precedence and gives its name to the entire "village".

(162) Thus Ketti, for example, is an average-sized "village" in Merkunad with a Badaga population of about 5000. It consists of 17 hamlets, the chief one
621 being Ketti, largely a Gauda hamlet. On one side of this hamlet there are eleven
615 Toreya houses, and on the other side, separated from the Badagas slightly, are

554 any wealthy man should be believed before some ordinary man, a Badaga should
695 be believed before a non-Badaga (other factors being relatively equal), a small
(562) boy should be believed before an adult, but an old man should be believed before
(565) a younger one. Until about 1940 utterances from ghosts or gods (spoken through
(609) possessed mediums) were treated as reliable evidence, more reliable indeed than
(561) anything men might say.

593 Badagas are familiar with the phenomenon of in-group solidarity, as it regularly finds graphic illustration in the hearing of village disputes. A man is so dependent upon the support of his family in a dispute, as well as in his daily ritual observances, that it is normally assumed -- unless he is disputing with his (425) own brother -- that he will not lie to his family about anything. So if Kadan, for example, is engaged in a dispute with Rangan over the shifting of a field boundary, Kadan can expect his family's support in the matter even though they all know that his evidence is a complete fabrication; indeed the whole family stands to gain if 613 Kadan wins the case, provided the family estate remains undivided until then. If Rangan is from another lineage than Kadan (and the dispute is sufficiently important, we might add), each man may win the active support of his entire lineage. 571 Similarly in a dispute between two men of different hamlets, each man's hamlet 621 will typically support him in the dispute even though his claim is known to be false. At the level of inter-village disputes the support from an entire hamlet may be forthcoming only because everybody feels the reputation of his own hamlet is at 578 stake: few would look for material gains in the situation. The fixing of village (657) boundaries by the Revenue Board during the 1880's obviated the possibility of an inter-village dispute over field boundaries; but important conflicts can still arise over marriage and divorce, inheritance, debt and interest, theft, and a variety of

578 [657] insults and personal grievances. As we shall see, the fact that in-group solidarity is so strongly manifested in disputes ostensibly between two individuals is a common psychological basis for the growth of Badaga factional divisions, which typically evolve out of family feuds.

554 631 (621) (565) Historically and to some extent socially the hamlet can be seen as an extension of its gentry, its founding family: Tuneri, for example, is said to be an important village because its headman is the most important of all Nilgiri headmen. This is an understandable position, for every resident of Tuneri is potentially more influential than people living in a hamlet with a relatively inferior headman. But Tuneri is also an unusually large village, and this fact gives it added prestige. In the same way that a family of the gentry used to increase in prestige by increasing its numbers, a hamlet can do likewise by an increase in population. This is simply because, in the traditional setting, the headman would receive more money gifts at the weddings of girls from his village, more income from fining his villagers, and the chance of a substantial "rake-off" when he collected grain to give to the Todas and Kurumbas at each harvest. This attitude finds clear expression in a Badaga saying: "If the number of his subjects increases, the headman of the village will become a big man."

631 661 662 During the last century, before Badagas had started to use the British court system (there was only one magistrate's court in the Nilgiris), they were entirely dependent on their own headmen for favorable treatment in the hearing of disputes. In those days, whenever a headman visited another village, he could expect much more generous hospitality than he would receive today, since it might prove necessary later to look to him for support in a case. The hospitable treatment typically consisted of a big feast, to which was often added a night with whichever of the village girls he chose. Feasting, girls, cloth and money might also be

178 just as much as the potato had. For our study of change it is significant that tea,
241 coffee and cinchona, like the potato, presuppose a market beyond the Nilgiris. The plantation crops called for more expertise than Badagas could usually manage, and so were largely confined to European land-holdings; even so, some Badagas were
(657) growing tea in the late 1920's. But potatoes were relatively easy for Badagas to grow, especially as a government farm in the District helped them with seeds, fertilizers and advice. During the past 40 years some of the more enterprising Badagas have also successfully managed to cultivate tea and coffee in areas both small and large:

[249] > The cultivation of tea by Badagas is increasing very rapidly. The fact that the value of land rises after tea is planted plays an important part in the popularisation of tea growing... In the Salarda valley, there is a Badaga woman who is developing seed-beds of tea on quite a large scale and there are many Badagas who are cultivating excellent nurseries. (Ranga 1934: 18-19)

241 Chemical fertilizers were first used by a few Badagas in the early 1920's;
242 before that only cow-dung and human refuse had been available (Grigg 1880: 468; Ranga 1934: 14). The use of these new chemicals was of great importance, for it led to much higher yields in the new vegetable crops and so helped confirm Badagas in the belief that growing food for the market was a really profitable occupation. Insecticides and improved seeds, particularly potatoes, were also willingly accepted by the growers.

241 Improvements in the areas of fertilizer, insecticide and seed were followed almost immediately by the construction of terraces on some of the sloping fields. Progress in terracing was much slower than in the adoption of the other innovations, however, because it demanded a much greater capital outlay than most farmers could afford (Grigg 1880: 470). Even today many cultivated slopes that badly need terracing because of soil erosion still remain to be terraced. In the past few years the situation

241 has greatly improved, it is worth noting, because the state government has made loans available on relatively easy terms for the purpose of having field terraces constructed.

Because of terracing in many places, and widespread subdivision, fields are often so small that it would be markedly inefficient to plow them at any time (178) (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). For the past 25 years, therefore, the plow and oxen have ceased to be used in the Nilgiri Hills. Much of the (465) work-load formerly carried by oxen is now taken by the spades of cheap migrant laborers from the plains: men work for daily wages of Rs. 1.75, equivalent to about 35¢ U.S., and women for about 30¢.

While the profits from potato, tea and coffee are very much higher per 426 acre than those from the traditional grain crops, the risks are also much higher. 474 Not only does a farmer need ready cash to buy seed or cuttings, fertilizer and labor, but he may need cash to feed his family if disease ruins the crop for one • (651) season. Here the cooperative societies set up by the state government have helped the Badagas greatly. Both short- and long-term loans are available, against land or house securities, for all members of the societies (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). The societies have thus gone far in protecting Badagas from the high interest-rates of private money-lenders; some societies even help farmers by supplying seeds, fertilizers, and modern implements at cost prices.

Marketing

Traditionally the Badagas, Kotas and Todas occupied a very peripheral 115 437 position in a market economy: before the British reached the Nilgiris annual trading expeditions to the market at Gundlupet, in Mysore, or to Kīramadai, were the (439) source for the few requirements not otherwise available in the Hills. Such

178 greater agricultural skill than other Nilgiri crops if they are to attain the high standards required by company purchasing agents. Moreover, they need to be produced in large enough quantity to warrant the processing and transportation to Bombay.

178 Middlemen, both Badagas and others, were therefore indispensible to the few Bada-
442 gas who had ventured into tea and coffee growing in the 1920's and 1930's. Middle-
(241) men could act as a control on quality, and could amass sufficient produce to make a transaction with an exporter worth-while. As more and more Badagas became interested in growing crops for cash, middlemen appeared not only to buy small quantities of tea, coffee and potatoes, but also to act as agents in selling seeds and fertilizers, and even insurance.

After Independence the profiteering in which these middlemen had indulged
474 was finally checked. With state and central government aid, marketing cooperatives
(442) were set up in various parts of the Nilgiris to undermine the position of the middle-
(657) men by providing cheaper services (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). Now there are cooperative societies which not only find markets and pool the resources of members, but provide cheap seeds, fertilizers and implements. Many such societies now own local tea-processing factories or warehouses.

Since 1957 heavy loss through potato disease has caused some of the
241 potato-growers to plant their land with tea or coffee instead. The availability of help from the marketing cooperatives has made this sudden switch in crops possible, for otherwise the initial capital outlay and the small size of most estates would make the whole venture unfeasible.

Communications

489 Steady improvements in the transportation systems have facilitated the
(178) production and sale of cash crops. In the last century all goods had to be carried

178 tional occupations include school-teachers, local government officials, bus drivers,
463 and factory workers.

Our sample of 301 adolescent and adult Badaga males (aged 15-85) in 1963
463 had the following employment pattern; (the categories are taken from the Census of
[125] India):

I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%
II	Agricultural laborer	5.0%
III	Forestry and livestock	.0%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%
VI	Construction	4.0%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%
IX	Teaching and "professions"	13.0%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%

It is clear that farm-work is still the most prevalent activity; but now a substantial proportion of the men are working in occupations (Categories V to IX) that are typical of participation in a monetary economy; with the important exception of commerce itself.

Law and Administration

Since early in the 19th Century the Badagas were indirectly ruled by
177 British administrators. Contact with the British had relatively little effect in the
[175] early years, however. The transition from a barter to a cash economy was very
[65] slow, although in the last century the British did introduce a few new crops and new tools to the Badagas. Only in the 1860's did the Badagas really feel a heavy
[MAP] impact from the presence of the British. Two things happened at that time. One
[241] was the appearance of a separate Badaga Christian community encouraged and protected by the local Englishmen; the other was the legal end to slash-and-burn cultivation and the fixing of all field boundaries.

177 Until the end of the last century Badagas sedulously avoided the British
178 legal system and its officers. The traditional Badaga system, which we described earlier (pp. 29-43), continued to operate effectively. In the following chapter we
121 shall describe the social change which came about during the present century when Badagas were obliged to adapt their legal system so as to make use of the official Indian one too.

• 657 Local government under the British was in practice confined for the most
(631) part to the municipalities. Some police stations were established in rural areas,
(625) and local roads were constructed; but in general there was little attempt to im-
(871) prove the lot of the Badagas. In a few villages the presence of free mission schools from 1857 onward nevertheless did much to raise the standard of education (cf. Grigg 1880: 423-26).

After Independence, on the other hand, the Indian government began to pay a great deal of attention to developing the rural sector of the country. The Nilgiris was not selected for inclusion in the areas subjected to intensive community development in the early 1950's, but local panchayat offices were set up in the administrative "villages" of the Nilgiris, and began the dissemination of information and the improvement of basic services. The Badagas were classified as a "Backward Class" and received special help in these matters from the Harijan
(312) Welfare Department. Today most villages, as a result of these efforts, have a
(491) fairly hygienic supply of running tap-water, a track connecting them with the main
(365) roads, and an electricity supply. Many villages have started their own coopera-
(474) tive society, through which they get loans and agricultural supplies against the security of their lands or houses.

177 Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the recent

186 Christian group but also toward the Hindus (Périe 1932: 1-8).
578
797 This situation continued with little change until after 1947, by which time the
798 Catholics were almost as numerous as the Protestants. Independence brought new factors into play, however. Conversion of Hindus to either Christian sect virtually
178 ceased with national Independence, as did most conversion of Protestants to Catholi-
798 cism. While there are still some points of disagreement between members of the
[797] two churches (preëminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Christians and Hindus, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing conditions of life in the Nilgiris. There are now some
178 indications in casual conversation that the cultural orientations of the Badagas are
619 being adapted to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity; one which links all
798 Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with all other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for example, were willing to tell me that "The Christians set us a good example"; by these words they were alluding to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and "progressive" treatment of their women for
•[657] which the Christians are noted (cf. Ranga 1934: 5-6). The Badaga community is now always called a "caste", and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as "Badagas", a community which the Government shows particular concern and beneficence for by treating as a "Backward Class". The chances of material benefit
178 through better employment opportunities which, a century ago, prompted a few Bada-
797 gas to change their attitudes sufficiently to become Christians, now prompt their
829 descendants to alter other orientations not closely related to religious values but rather to a government and its new classification of employment priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility; but in that process conversion to Christianity is now an anachronistic mechanism.